Chapter 7
Neither Passive nor Powerless: Reframing Tourism Development in a Postcolonial, Post-conflict and Post-disaster Destination Context

Hugues Seraphin and Maximiliano E. Korstanje

Abstract The present chapter centres on Haitian case, which evinces not only the failure of development theory in improving the economies of pour countries but also how political instability and corruption affect competitive capabilities of tourist destinations in the periphery. In the turn of the century, the rise of different risks as terrorism, natural disasters or virus outbreaks forced the specialists and policymakers to rethink not only its policies but its marketing tactics. The post-disaster marketing as well as the post-conflict destinations emerged as valid options to revitalize tourist destinations obliterated by disasters or any other major threats. More important, policymakers acknowledged the reconstructive nature of tourism, not only accelerating the post-disaster recovery timeframe but also allowing investors that help the local devastated economy.

Keywords Powerless · Post-disaster destination · Tourism development · Haiti

7.1 Introduction

Much effort has been put into tourism as a tool to alleviate poverty (Holden 2013; Scheyvens 2007; Ashley and Mitchell 2009). However, all the efforts in place are direct strategies (with a focus on the economic tool) (Korstanje 2016). In a seminal book entitled *Touring Poverty*, as Bianca Freire-Medeiros (2014) puts it, one of the

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M. Peris-Ortiz et al. (eds.), *Progress in Ethical Practices of Businesses*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-60727-2_7

ethical contradictions of slum tourism is not given certainly by the curiosity of tourists but by the fact that, far from being reduced, poverty is the main commodity of tourism in the Global South. In this vein, R. Tzanelli (2016) calls attention to the ethical dichotomies of slum and dark tourism. While the tourists coming from the first world seem interested by the exploitative conditions of existence in the South, the former European nations that fostered a centre-periphery dependency—during the colonial rule—often avoid their historical responsibilities. This puts the theme in a difficult position, which today captivates the attention of cultural theorists and postcolonial historians. In this respect, beyond the interests to be in contact with relegated ethnicities or pour nations, there lies an ideological discourse oriented to perpetuate the supremacy of Europe over other cultures. She dangles that in any case, slum tourism—as well as post-disaster or dark tourism—may very well help locals to boost their economies (Tzanelli 2016).

As the previous backdrop, this chapter discusses the nature of tourism in postcolonial, post-conflict and post-disaster destinations (PCCDD), as well as the economic opportunities, to alleviate suffering and poverty. At the best, tourism should be seen as epitomizing the true nature of a country and its people. Taking Haiti as an example, we are providing evidence that the hospitality sector is an allegory of the Haitian tourism industry, political context and local people true nature. Abundant literature emphasizes on the benefits of tourism as a mechanism of resilience, which mitigates the derived losses and pain in post-disaster landscapes (Miller et al. 2017; Kato 2018). Haigh and Amaratunga (2010) alert though disasters have different origins and causes, as well as differentiated effects and losses, the concept of resilience is vital to overcome the long-lasting devastation or long-term aftermaths. When the implementing risk reduction programs fail, the fields of the built environment as the net of practices, thoughts, believes and synergies orchestrated to accelerate the recovery timeframe should be organized engaging the commitment of all stakeholders.

Resilient societies recover faster than non-resilient ones. Last but not least, resilience, a term that Hutton (2016) defined as the capacity of a group to strive and to reframe their relationship to their environment with limited economic means, is for us what better describes the tourism industry and the locals in Haiti. More importantly, we are also arguing that the tourism industry and local people in PCCDD (and in our case Haiti) are neither passive nor powerless. We picked Haiti as an example in this book chapter, but the results of the book chapter can be generalized to any destination with a similar profile.

The first section of this chapter reviews the salient factors that curb poverty in underdeveloped economies. Paradoxically, the problem of poverty is defined following a profit-centred paradigm, which means that the levels of production and the wealth distribution are the two key factors that mark the difference between the richest and poorest nations. Of course, as a leading figure of the economy, which captivated the attention of orthodox economists, poverty is associated with the material production and the productive means of society. This overlooks the position of ethics in the configuration of tourist destinations, without mentioning the role of the leading financial corporations in the global investment programs for

undeveloped nations (McMichael 2011). Contrariwise, the second section reconsiders the ethical dichotomies between poverty and luxury, as well as in the positive benefits of post-disaster destination helping locals and cultivating in locals the needs of emulating the tourist behaviour. Needless to say, this polemic topic entails two important assumptions. On one hand, in some conditions, tourist behaviour leads to some local social ills as alcoholism, alienation and violence. On another hand, the concept of luxury should be placed under the critical lens of scrutiny. As French philosopher Y. Michaud contended, luxury is not good nor bad; instead, it is reflected through the cultural values of involved society. In consonance with this, Jost Krippendorf defined tourism as an instrument of escapement that revitalizes the daily frustrations (Krippendorf 2010). To wit, tourism serves to enhance the social cohesion before uncertainty and adversity in the same way of rituals in the aboriginal life. After all, tourism can be catalogued as a rite of passage, which keeps society united (Korstanje and Busby 2010; Thirkettle and Korstanje 2013). Following this, the third section scrutinizes Haiti as a study case that contradicts the specialized literature. After years of exploitation, Haiti is a poor devastated country but a society where material asymmetries were historically enlarged. Luxury tourism was never a solution for Haiti in part because of its dark colonial legacy, but after 2015, when certain political stability was gained, tourism contributes positively to the nation. Quite aside from this, the successive failure of Haiti to adopt a sustainable tourism industry depended on something else than its bad image. The fourth section, in consonance with this, focuses on the local commitment as the key factors for Haiti to overcome the state of pauperism and abandonment Haitians are vulnerable to. As Comaroff and Comaroff brilliantly observed, the cultural theorists of capitalism are accustomed to think 'globalization' and heritage consumption bring Third World citizens to an atmosphere of crueller exploitation. Instead of this, the Comaroffs alert on the dangers of heritage. Paradoxically, while tourism and heritage consumption improve the living conditions of historically relegated ethnic groups, it calls the attention of the nation-state, which often increases or creates the taxes over these ethnicities engendering long-dormant conflicts (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009). This chapter offers an interesting interrogation between poverty, capitalism, ethics and tourism.

7.2 Tourism as a Tool to Alleviate Poverty?

7.2.1 Current Practices

Because the increased number of visitors going to PCCDDs offer them opportunities for the diversification of their economy, the industry has been hailed to have the capacity to reduce poverty (Hall and Page 2014; Holden 2013; Edgell Sr. and Swanson 2013). Other benefits of the tourism industry for PCCDDs include (but not limited to) earnings of foreign exchange, contributions to the balance of payments,

contribution to gross domestic products, jobs through the supply in sectors connected to the tourism industry, the sales of goods and services produced by the poor people and subsequently opportunities for poor people to start their own business (Hall and Page 2014; Holden 2013). To maximize the impact of tourism as a poverty reduction tools, many initiatives are developed. They fall under what is called 'pro-poor tourism' or PPT (Holden 2013; Truong 2013). Among the initiatives or programmes developed we can name, the Sustainable Tourism Eliminating Poverty Programme (ST-EP) developed by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO). Holden (2013: 176) summarized the mechanisms to reduce poverty as follow (Fig. 7.1):

The mechanism suggested in Fig. 7.1 to reduce poverty are direct strategies to reduce poverty. The same way non-promotional materials are more effective than promotional materials (Séraphin et al. 2017), we are here arguing that indirect strategies to reduce poverty using tourism could also be effective and alternative ways and probably even better ways. Also, the above model is suggesting a strategy to reduce poverty using poverty with locals as entrepreneurs or employees, but never as potential future customers, what reinforces the discriminatory nature of tourism identified by Michel (2000).

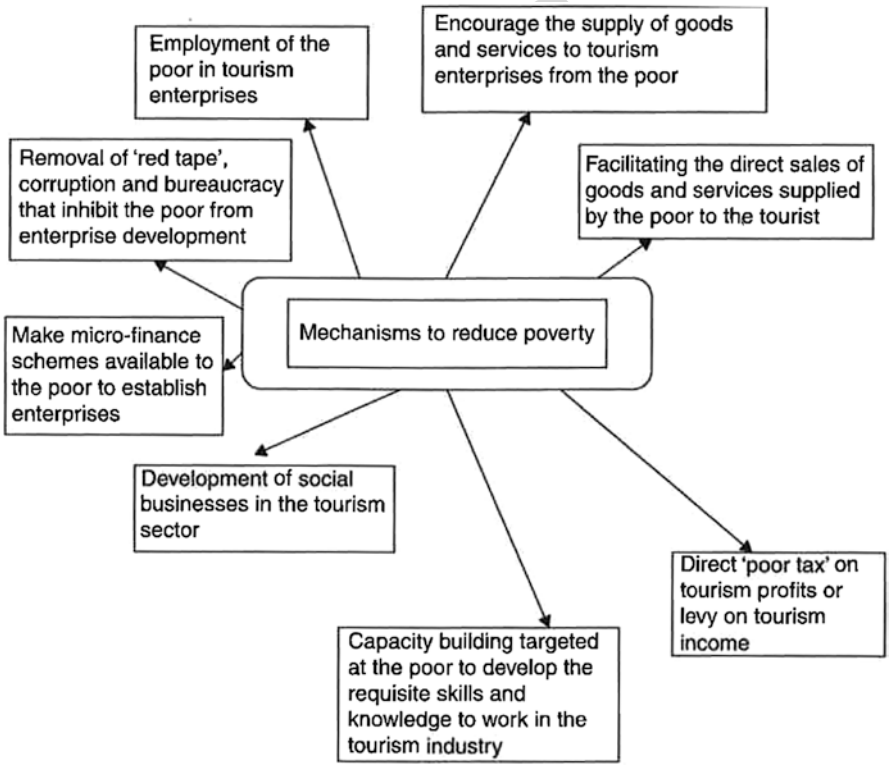

Fig. 7.1 Mechanisms to reduce poverty. (Source: Holden 2013)

In his book *Development and Social Change*, P. McMichael (2011) clarifies the theory of development paved historically the ways for the rise of a global atmosphere, where free market occupies a central position subordinating the autonomies of nation-states. It is not otiose to think that the idea of sustainable development entails the needs of balancing the local needs with global financial interests. At a closer look, the leading countries devote their financial resources to ensure the production of food, exported from South to North, while at the same time, they need of certain stability to meet their energetic matrixes. The theory of development provides certain political instability and economic growth to those nations, which are characterized by historical civil wars, corruption and backwardness. The exegetes of development claimed that the financial aid was of paramount importance to help undeveloped society to embrace progress and development. As McMichael adheres, neoliberalism rests on the needs of promoting governance in the Third World, avoiding the rise of 'failed states'. With this in mind, corporate outsourcing and the private sectors were employed to delineate the borders of nation-states. His main thesis is that scholars are unable to understand development without studying the history of colonialism. While the colonial order imposed a cruel and violent rule to the periphery, no less true was that it cultivated the ideals of free trade and democracy, which prompted the process of decolonization over the 1960s. To fulfil the chasm left by the retreat of colonial powers, the theory of development was reintroduced in order for revitalizing the frustrations and the state of extreme poverty created by the colonial exploitation, as well as local corruption (McMichael 2011). This begs a more than interesting question: is post-disaster tourism part of the problem or the solution?

As Dean MacCannell (2011) puts it, the host-guest encounters are based on a sentiment of indifference, if not curiosity where tourists often consume the natives according to their own beliefs, stereotypes and prejudices. The so-called interests for the alterity seem to be no other thing than the quest of ego affirmation. Throughout his vast career, he understood that the term sightseeing denoted the supremacy of the vision in the West as a source of power. While watching others, we possess them, as MacCannell added. In this context, tourism opens the doors for cross-cultural interactions where weaker 'cultures' are subordinated by 'harder' cultures. Most probably, natives are commoditized as a part of a broader attraction, which acts as a form of entertainment for First World tourists (MacCannell 1976, 2001, 2002). At the same time, the process of secularization erodes the influence of religion in daily life, leaving a gap in the society, which is fulfilled by tourism. Echoing Durkheim and Levi Strauss, if the totem is a sacred object that boosts the social cohesion, so tourism in contemporary society performs a similar role (MacCannell 1976, 2001). As the previous argument is given, MacCannell laments the current dynamics of tourism transforming the people's lives in view of the interests of the market, creating a dissociation between what people do and feel (MacCannell 2011). Doubtless, this leads to an irreversible fragmentation, as he writes,

> Social and cultural norms are the basis for a tourist's experience of difference and otherness. They also shape what is locally thought to be civilized or socialized (i.e. proper) behaviour. They demand deference to other feelings, appropriate choices of objects of sat-

> isfaction, and moderation in expression of needs and desires. Civilized human beings famously sublimate their repressions via cultural expression- music, dance, cuisine, adornment, etc. There is no place on earth, no cultural region, no geographical feature that figures as a tourist attraction, which is no defined in moral terms. (MacCannell 2011: p. 185)

Moved by 'pseudo-experiences', tourists do not need a genuine encounter with the other, less by their own hedonism, which means the prone of pleasure maximization. However, these ego-centred desires come with the environment placing mankind between the wall and the deep blue sea. He holds the thesis that ethics is necessary to reverse the ecological crisis, as well as reforming the basis of a productive system which today is unsustainable. The Other's pain should not be commercialized as a form of attraction because this prevents the engagement of the self with Others. Quite aside from this, ethics allows society to change those aspects that remain as counterproductive for the system (MacCannell 1976, 2011). Rather, other voices—like Philip Stone—convene that 'dark tourism', or post-disaster tourism, represents an anthropological attempt to interpret the own life through the other's death. The advance of industrialization made death as a taboo transferring the power from priests to doctors. Death transformed into a fear that mobilized a collective conscience in contemporary society. Dark tourism exhibits a difficult meeting with the other's pain in sites of calamities and disgraces, and in doing so, the man intends domesticating the death. In the society of the spectacle, disasters and risks are packaged and disseminated to a vast audience. Hence, this phenomenon blurs the borders between the commoditization of the death, and the rememorating of the death, Stone finally concludes (Stone 2018). In this token, M. Friedrich et al. (2018) acknowledges dark tourism is not good nor bad. Even, as he cites,

> Dark tourism in post-conflict destinations is a potentially influential yet ethically laden phenomenon. As a result, dark tourism may symbolize visitor sites of discordant heritage, sites of selective silences, sites of rendered political and ideological, and sites powerfully intertwined of dark tourism and the difficult heritage it seeks to portray, as well as the potential memorialisation it can offer. Friedrich et al. (2018: 262)

The above-noted cite shows two important aspects, which merit to be discussed. On one hand, the visit of tourists to sites of atrocities as genocide or slaughters helps policymakers to generate a fluid dialogue with other sectors. The moral boundaries are renegotiated according to the opportunity to learn a forgotten lesson. On another, it runs the risk that the message may be selectively distorted avoiding the 'retributive justices' the victims claimed (Friedrich et al. 2018).

7.2.2 Different Perspectives

The well-known linguist Steven Pinker proffers an interesting argument backing the thesis that modern society lives the most peaceful period of its history. Echoing the ideals of enlightenment, which promoted rationale, ethics and economic prosperity, the modern nation-states have widely adopted democracy as the best of their

organizational principles. The economic prosperity brought by the political stability that democracy ensures resulted in decentralized forms of productions that distributed the produced wealth to a major portion of peoples than in other non-democratic cultures (Pinker 2011). Pinker's assumptions are empirically validated by the senior economists Acemoglu and Robinson (2012) who examine the sociocultural conditions of the prosperous modern democracies respecting the poorer countries. Per their viewpoint, the adoption of democracy not only accelerates a climate of political understanding but also lays the foundations towards a sustainable economy where monopolies are avoided. Unlike the non-democratic nations where the centralization of resources in few hands predominates leading to what these specialists dubs as extractive institutions, in well-established democracies, the economic policies are subject to the scrutiny of many independent agencies, creating 'the check and balance' institutions.

In this context, one might speculate that tourism is not a prime vector for the alleviation of poverty. As Emanuel de Kadt (1979) puts it, those nations which have been historically colonized or occupied by external armies have less probability to adopt successfully development than democratic nations. The same remarks were validated by Stephen Britton, who showed eloquently how under conditions of exploitation, tourism strengthens the centre-periphery dependency, causing unseen negative effects as inflation, acculturation and local crime, among others (Britton 1982, 1991). What is important to discuss is the connection of tourism, poverty and development.

The sociocultural and the political context also play an important role in the alleviation of poverty. Indeed, Edgell Sr. and Swanson (2013: 270) acknowledged that 'the more peaceful the world, the greater are the opportunities for helping to reduce poverty'. Page (2013) also added the fact that tourism only contributes to the reduction of poverty only if there are no barriers hindering it. Among the barriers, we can mention the lack of education and skills of the population that stop them from identifying opportunities, the limited access to finance to create their own business, etc. This is further supported by Dupont (2009) who claimed that there is a one-way direction between economic development and tourism development. He also claimed that there is a one-way direction between poverty alleviation and tourism development. Indeed, taking the example of Haiti, Dupont (2009) explained that it is the economic development of a country that triggers the tourism development of that country and not the other way round. Likewise, it is the alleviation of poverty that leads to the development of tourism and not the other way round. Based on the above, we can come to the conclusion that tourism is the result or the consequence of a set number of parameters and not at the origin of the development of tourism. This alternative approach to tourism could be summarized as follow (Fig. 7.2).

Séraphin et al. (2016c) went a step further by saying that if PCCDDs are not performing well as tourism destinations, it is because human issues (primary needs of locals) have not been addressed. Equally important, they added that there is a one-way relationship between the improvement of the well-being of the locals and

Fig. 7.2 One-way direction to tourism development

Fig. 7.3 From well-being to tourism development

the performance of the destination. In other words, it is the well-being of the locals that is going to improve the tourism performance of the destination and not the other way round (Fig. 7.3). Indeed, research in tourism provides evidence that tourism happens almost naturally when with an increase of free time and with the improvement of the standard of living (Merlin 2001). We are here insisting on the latter.

Ivlevs (2017) explained that well-being as a concept can be put into two categories, namely, material and nonmaterial. In the same line of thought, Séraphin et al. (2016c) argued that having a population that can dream of a better future is a key sign of the well-being of a population. Nonmaterial well-being of a population must therefore be an essential part of the tourism strategy of a government of LDCs. In this book chapter, we are arguing that tourism that could be assimilated to a 'holy grail' for poor people in LDCs could be a way to alleviate poverty by using tourism as a nonmaterial and indirect strategy, in other words, using tourism as an aspiration or dream tool for locals as customers and/or employees. We are also claiming that luxury tourism that is sometimes depicted negatively in LDCs (Paul and Séraphin 2015) has the capacity to make locals dream of an even better future and empower them to achieve their end goal. Luxury tourism, in other words, could have a social and even healing function. Lastly, Park et al. (2010) convened that luxury tourism corresponds with a genuine growth for many underdeveloped nations. Though the main features of luxury are exclusion and extravagance, no less true is that consumers often consider a luxury product according to their beauty, not its real value. Luxury consumption not only denotes the psyche of consumers, varying in the threshold of time, but it is perceived in different ways depending on the consumer's inner world. Instead of demonizing luxury as the worst of evils, social scientists would calibrate their focus paying attention to its potential benefits for society.

7.3 Hope and Fulfilment

7.3.1 Tourism as the 'Holy Grail'

Participation in tourism and/or leisure activities have been identified as factors contributing to the quality of life (well-being and happiness) of people, and sometimes, certain constraints stopped them to enjoy or fully enjoy leisure or tourism activities (Moufakkir 2013). For Michel (2000) and Youell (1998), the tourism industry is an activity that overall excludes poor people and subsequently create discrimination between people. Hence the reason the ethics of tourism has become a cause for concern, discussion and research among academics and practitioners. Ethical tourism is 'an attempt to manage tourism for the benefit of all stakeholders and to contribute to environmental, social and economic goals (Weeden 2005, Cited in Lovelock and Lovelock 2013: 5). That said, the discriminatory nature of tourism is nothing new. Indeed, 'the early Egyptian civilization displayed a primitive social structure that rewarded the privileged classes with leisure time to enjoy such activities as dance, music, drama and archery' (Youell 1998: 3). Similarly, in the later Middle Ages, travelling for leisure continued to be the preserve of those in power (Youell 1998). Taking part in leisure activities undertaken by the 'elite' has always been the objective of the masses of the lower and working classes (Youell 1998). Equally important, tourism is also a way to satisfy certain social needs driven by prestige motivations (Correia and Kozak 2012). For some people, tourism is a way to boost their esteem among peers and also a way to contribute to a person's achievement of self-actualization or self-fulfilment (Youell 1998). This is true whether the traveller is part of an elite or not, as described by Adam (1984, in Hoerner 2003: 80):

> The traveller is one who dream about his trip before buying the plane ticket. One therefore dreams and reads. The journey only feeds the mind of he whose spirit is thirsty for knowledge and who precedes them with a methodological interrogation.

More recently, Weaver (2015) explained that (outbound) tourism is a component of the Chinese dream alongside economic growth, personal freedom, reduced corruption, a cleaner environment, safer food, etc.

Based on the collected information so far, tourism can be considered as a motivational or aspirational industry for the masses that can't afford to take part yet to the industry. In our case, the mass is the poor people in LDCs (and or emerging destinations). French philosopher Ives Michaud clarifies that the problem is not luxury, because it represents a social activity. People buy expensive products to socialize with others. Over the years, the richest classes travelled abroad or bought luxury products while they reconfirmed their privileged status. In this way, as Michaud reminds, pourer classes not only admire the ruling elite but also emulate their lifestyles and consuming behaviour. Recently, social scientists witnessed the rise of a new (individualist) luxury tourist launch to gaze unique experiences, which not only cannot be replicated by others but also can be shared once returned. This

opens the doors to a new philosophical debate on these new luxuries where war tourism and dark tourism are only some examples (Michaud 2013). Unlike the classic luxury, this new one is not transmitted through the language, or the gaze; it should be experienced. For Michaud, this exhibits the triumph of egoism as the mainstream cultural value of modern capitalism.

7.3.2 Tourism: A Matter of Perception

Kapferer and Michaut (2015) explain that the key issue with luxury products and services is that they are perceived as superficial and unethical. Indeed, luxury is very often presented as an opposite to altruism, social harmony, moderation and fairness. 'Sustainable development has become a pervasive problem for luxury brands' (Kapferer and Michaut 2015: 4). Equally important, Kapferer and Michaut (2015) explained that luxury is perceived differently according to consumers, meaning that luxury can be perceived positively and negatively. Taking the example of Haiti after the earthquake, Wagner (2015) explained that the population was surrounded by image of death and despair, and their only image of hope came from the USA (and the images associated with the country) that most of them were dreaming to go to (Séraphin 2014a, b). In such a context, the hope of a better future can be seen as 'luxury' and therefore a rather positive thing. Thomson (2014) also explained that the locals from Haiti were quite envious of non-locals called 'Blanc' because they could access comfort (most of the time presented as catering and hospitality products and service) they could not. Here, luxury is to be understood from the 'comfort' angle, causing social inequality. In reaction to the destruction of Haiti after the earthquake, the tourism industry and more specifically the hospitality sector reacted with the construction of luxury hotels. This was a way for the professionals of the sector to show their resilience, in other words, their adaptive capacity (Hutton 2016), faith in their country, and also a way to show that they can achieve the best.

7.4 Case Study: The Tourism Industry in Haiti

7.4.1 Haiti. A Brief Overview

Hispaniola is made of Haiti and the Dominican Republic. In the eighteenth century, Haiti was the richest French colony. It was even called the 'Pearl of the Antilles' (Roc 2008). The island's wealth was generated by a thriving exportation industry, and to sustain growth, thousands of African slaves were transported to Haiti to bolster the workforce (Reader 1998). The large Haitian slave community, commanded by a comparatively small group of white masters, staged an uprising in 1791. This led to a 13-year war of liberation, with General Toussaint L'Ouverture, leading the Haitian slave army to freedom.

Equally important, the image of Haiti then became associated with Toussaint L'Ouverture, also called the 'Bonaparte of the Antilles' who set free all Haitian slaves. CLR James immortalized L'Ouverture in his classic study "The Black Jacobins" as the revolutionary who took the French Revolution at its word: liberty, equality and fraternity for *all* mankind, former slaves and colonial subjects included. In 1804, Jean-Jacques Dessalines declared the independence of Haiti. The country became known worldwide as the first black republic in the world (Cruse 2012). Today, Haiti is one of the poorest countries in the world (Wagner 2015; Roc 2008).

7.4.2 *Haiti and Its Tourism Industry. A Brief Overview*

Between the 1940s and 1960s, Haiti was a very popular destination in the Caribbean and as such attracted visitors from all over the world. In 1957, the dictatorship of Francois Duvalier and his *Tonton Macoutes* put an end to the tourism industry of the country. On January 12, 2010, an earthquake further damaged the tourism industry. From that point, the industry became a priority for the government, which has identified the tourism sector as a key vehicle for economic development. This new approach of tourism has led to a rebranding of the destination marketing organization and to a strategy aiming to improve the quality of products and services offered with the emergence of the international chain of hotels in a destination where the sector was 100% into the hands of Haitians (Séraphin et al. 2016a, b, c; Séraphin and Paul 2015; Séraphin 2014a, b). Among the luxurious hotels (*5 hibiscus* – the local equivalent of stars) that opened in Haiti, we can name a few like the *Inn at Villa Bamboo*, *Hotel Oasis*, *NH Haiti El Rancho*, *Best Western Premier*, *Karibe Convention Center*, *Royal Decameron Indigo Beach Resort & Spa*, *Hilton*, *Marriott*, etc. (Séraphin and Paul 2015). Those hotels and resorts are presented by Séraphin and Paul (2015) as an *antimonde*, in other words, a world apart from the normal world (Cruse 2009). Barreau (2013) explained that locals are aspiring to reach this world of luxury, for them a way to escape their current social condition, mainly characterized by deprivation (Séraphin et al. 2016a, b, c). For Séraphin and Paul (2015), the locals are more and more supportive of luxury tourism. That said, they also added the fact that luxury products and services remain quite indecent because of the low standard of living of the vast majority of the population.

7.4.3 *The Hospitality Sector: An Allegory of the Tourism Industry and Political Context in Haiti*

(a) 1981–1996: Club Med Magic Haiti: 'On and off'

Between 1950s and1960s, a period when most of the British Commonwealth Caribbean took their independence, the first generation of hotels was built (Bell 2015). During the 1970s, many hotels were operating below capacity and with major closures; as a result, many governments had to assume ownership and

management of a significant number of hotels (Bell 2015). In the 1980s, a new generation of hotels appeared in the Caribbean: The all-inclusive, *Club Méditerranée*, was followed by Sandals groups of hotels, a Caribbean spiced version of the Club Med concept (Bell 2015).

In 1981, *Club Med*, the world-leading holiday resort company (Juyaux 2009), opened an all-inclusive resort in Haiti named *Club Med Magic Haiti*. This all-inclusive resort, also called 'Super Club' (Cazelais 2004), was the first-ever international brand hotel in Haiti and the first-ever hotel own by foreign capitals. This was the case until 2012 (Séraphin 2014a, b). Between 1981 and 1996, the all-inclusive resort never managed to be profitable due to the fact that during the 15 years, the hotel was operating on and off due to the political instability.

The 15 years of Club Med in Haiti were 15 difficult years from a political, economic and social point of view. The late 1980s was the worst period of Haitian history: Haiti became a drug hub in the Caribbean; corruption was rampant as never before; violent repression of the Haitian police towards the opponent of the Duvalier regime was frequent (Avril 1997); pioneers of human rights were expelled, arrested or killed (Maguire 2014); there was a lack of political stability with many coups—June 20, 1988, April 2, 1989, September 30, 1991; etc. (Avril 1997) with 11 different politicians ruling the country between 1986–1996. On top of the political context, Haiti went through an AIDS pandemic in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Destin 2014) and an American embargo. Also, during this period, hotels were not the most popular form of accommodation, but guest houses/apartments (CTO 1991) (Table 7.1):

Despite the political and social context, in 1995, the government, via the *Secretariat d'état au Tourisme (SET)*, announced a new strategy for the tourism industry, part of which included the development of training courses in tourism and hospitality and the regeneration of the cultural city of Jacmel (Dupont 2010). The effort to develop the tourism sector did not work. Under the Duvalier dictatorship and beyond, the destination became one of the less-visited islands in the Caribbean because of its negative image and lack of governance of the country (Roc 2008; Charles 1994). The case of *Club Med Magic Haiti* indicates a contract between the ambitions of the government and the strategy put in place in terms of tourism development. Indeed, how can an international hotel survive in such a context? It is during this period (1981–1996) that Haiti stopped being considered as a tourist destination (Séraphin 2014a, b). It is important to highlight the fact that *InterContinental Hotel Groups* faced the same problem as *Club Med* in many Latin American countries. The political unrest, the devaluation of currencies and management inefficiencies leading to higher costs and lower cost profit were the main hurdles (Quek 2012).

Table 7.1 Tourists arrivals by place of stay in Haiti (1986)

Hotels (%)	Guest houses/apartments (%)	Private/unregistered (%)	Other (%)	Total (%)
25	53	22	–	100

Source: CTO (1991)

(b) 1997–2005: Club Med Magic Haiti: The beginning of the end

Because of the context described above, *Club Med* decided to close the resort. Meanwhile, the global strategy of the company changed with an upgrade of the resorts in the world (Orsoni 2007; Morel 2007), making it even impossible for the group to carry on managing their resort in Haiti. This period was mainly characterized by the economic crisis and political instability (Clammer 2012). *Club Med* decided to stop its operation in Haiti (Table 7.2).

(c) 2006–2015: Club Indigo: Like a phoenix rising from the ashes

2006 corresponds with the transition *Club Med Magic Haiti – Club Indigo*. The new resort moved from international ownership to local ownership. *Club Indigo* became in 2006 the property of a family part of the local 'elite' (Séraphin 2011). As for Thomson (2004), he explained that *Club Indigo* survived mainly thanks to the business tourists (NGO staff, journalists, diplomats, politicians, etc.). From a political point of view, this period has been the most stable with only one president (Clammer 2012). However, this period is mainly going to be remembered because of the earthquake on January 12, 2010, that ravaged Haiti on January 12, 2010 (Kasia 2014).

(d) 2015–Nowadays: Club Lookea Magic Haiti: A new era

Since November 2015, *Club Indigo* stopped to exist. The resort is no longer operating under a local management but managed by two international companies Decameron and Transat and operating under the name *Club Lookea Magic Haiti*. This period is the most dynamic period in Haitian history in terms of hotels built. Many changes occurred in the hospitality sector during this period. *Club Lookea Magic Haiti* was no longer the only international chain of hotel in Haiti; then, quality finally became a priority of the government (Séraphin 2014a, b).

Table 7.2 Life brand of a Haitian hotel

Name	Date	Management	Context
Club Med Magic Haiti	1981–1996	International	Political instability
			Major political and social issues
			1997–2005: Closure
Club Indigo	2006–2015	Local	Slight improvement of the political, economic and social climate
			Slight increase in the number of visitors
Club Lookea Magic Haiti	2015–	International	Better political stability (even if chipped by constant issues of various nature)
			Increased number of visitors

7.5 Tourism and the Unconventional Behaviour

7.5.1 The Unconventionality of Tourism in LDCs

'Unconventional' is to be understood as 'convention-breaking', 'less traditional' and 'non-conforming' (Norman et al. 2007; Noble 2001). This term could also be applied to anything that differs from the norm or standard; as a result, innovation plays a central role in unconventional action and behaviour (Strydom and Adams 2009). As for Dequech (2003), an 'unconventional behaviour' is irrational, unreasonable behaviour. For him, it is all about going against the average opinion. For Chaston (2000, cited in Burns 2014: 47), it is important to 'challenge established market conventions and develop new solutions'. This strategy is called 'blue ocean strategy'. Still, according to Chaston (2000, cited in Burns 2014: 47), three categories of conventions need to be challenged: (a) sectoral conventions, (b) performance conventions and finally (c) customer conventions. 'Unconventional behaviour often results from a person's rejection of the constraints imposed by social standards' (Dequech 2003: 160). The presentation of luxury in the Haitian context is less traditional and challenges sectoral and performance conventions. Traditionally, the power of tourism to alleviate poverty has always been covered from an economic point of view due to the fact that poverty research as a whole has always focused on poverty as an economic condition (Blocker et al. 2013). For us, poverty is also a state of mind that certain forms of tourism can alleviate. Poor people have aspirations that often go unnoticed by marketplace actors and institutions. Their aspirations can also be the source of the great outcome if tapped in correctly. Tourism is also a resilience resource.

7.5.2 The Undeserving of the Tourism Industry in Haiti

Taking the example of the resort of Labadee (Haiti), Séraphin et al. (2018b) explain that the development of resorts in postcolonial, post-conflict and post-disaster destinations (PCCDs) are to be assimilated to enclaves, that is to say enclosed and self-contained facilities, where tourists and locals are kept separated (Mbaiwa 2003). This situation caused by a socio-economic discrepancy between locals and tourists is leading to some resentment of locals towards visitors (Séraphin 2014a, b). The development of luxury products and services (that we are here defining as products and services that mainly visitors can afford and access) in the tourism industry in PCCDs leads to disengagement and resentment of the locals. Not only the locals are frustrated as they can't access luxury products and services as customers, but also they don't always fully benefits of a luxury form of tourism as employees neither, as explained by Thomson (2014) in the following quote:

> 'New Hilton and Marriott hotels are due to open in Port-au-Prince; change is coming fast. The question is whether the poor—that is, the majority of Haitians—will benefit from the

foreign loans and investment, whether the money will trickle down from the Hilton to the slums at the harbour's mouth. No doubt, something will be lost as the global market brings more all-inclusive resort hotels and standardized Palm Beach sport cabin villages. As in Jamaica in the 1950s, it will be a trade-off between dignity and the mighty dollar (…), but jobs are needed'. As a product and service, the tourism industry started with being only affordable by an elite and is now accessible to most, hence the emergence of mass tourism and problem related to it like overtourism (Séraphin et al. 2018a, b; Séraphin 2012). However, the example of Haiti provides evidence that tourism remains a luxury product and services for locals in PCCDs. The definition and perception of luxury are therefore contextual (Coquery 2014).

7.6 From Deprivation to Power

7.6.1 Deprivation

According to Blocker, Ruth, Sridharan, Beckwith, Ekici, Goudie-Hutton, Antonio Rosa, Saatcioglu, Talukdar, Trujillo and Varman (2013: 1196), 'individuals facing chronic restrictions in the marketplace may be unable to consume many things that are needed for basic survival, not to mention objects of desire throughout life'. They also added that this situation leads to felt deprivation, that is to say, 'the beliefs, emotions, and experiences that arise when individuals see themselves as unable to fulfil the consumption needs of a minimally decent life' Blocker et al. (2013: 1196). Based on our findings so far, we can come to the conclusion that the vast majority of the locals in Haiti fall under the concept of 'felt deprivation'. This reinforces our claim (4.1) that tourism is to be considered as luxury product and service in PCCDs (Haiti). The problem of 'felt deprivation' also affects the tourism performance of PCCDs. Indeed, Séraphin et al. (2016b) explain that the poor performance of Haiti as a destination goes beyond the image issue. For them, it is, first of all, a human issue due to the fact that the primary basic needs of the population are not met. They also explain that the local needs to be able to dream and adopt the 'Yes, we can spirit'. This is further supported by Dupont (2004) who pointed out that it is the reduction of poverty in Haiti that is going to lead to the development of tourism and not the other way round. Equally important, Blocker et al. (2013) also explained that the effects of poverty can be transformed via different uses of power. In the case of Haiti, Séraphin et al. (2016b) explain that the *power* to the improvement of the condition of the locals are going through a change of leadership as the country needs leaders who have the well-being of the locals as a priority. They also mention a return of the diaspora. In this book chapter, we are arguing that luxury products and services (like in the tourism industry) can address the issue of absence of perspective (dream and 'yes we can' spirit). As already mentioned, this view is supported by Séraphin and Paul (2015) and Barreau (2013). The case of Haiti is calling for an ambidextrous management and approach of luxury by combining an exploitative view of luxury (consumption of tangible luxury goods and brands) and exploratory view of luxury (*power* to aspiration and poverty alleviation). The same way, tourism

can be said to have a Janus-faced character because it triggers at the same time positive and negative outcomes for a destination (Sanchez and Adams 2008), Luxury can be said to have a Janus-faced character as it portrayed a hedonism and self-centred attribute while also portraying a more social and community-caring attribute. When luxury portrayed this Janus-faced character attribute, it can be said to be an unconventional form of luxury.

7.7 Conclusion

In this book chapter, we are introducing some preliminary reflections of an unconventional approach of tourism, namely, a more emotional approach that would enable the deprived to see beyond the physical representation of their environment as their current representations and understanding of reality does not function effectively with an idealization of the elsewhere and a devilish representation of their own country. Some hints support the view that fulfilling aspirations is an important part of consumer research (Blocker et al. 2013). As a resilient industry in an emerging destination, the industry has helped to keep a certain dignity. This book chapter also provides evidence that poor people (in LDCs) are neither passive nor powerless (Hutton 2016). Of course, the first detractors of tourism, development and luxury defined negatively the 'bubble tourism'. On one hand, classic tourism emulated the prosperity of stability and democracy, which were proper of enlightenment. Capitalism and democracy played a leading role in making societies more peaceful, equal and open to the foreigners (MacCannell 1976; Cohen 1972). Such a realm was radically changed after the turn of the new century, where tourism and hospitality industries faced a lot of risks and serious situations which ranged from terrorism (2001) to a stock and market crisis (2008). Today's tourism alludes to a morbid consumption where the other's pain has been commoditized. This ranges from spaces of mass death, war or refugee camps towards post-disaster destinations. In this context, the idea of luxury not only should be reconsidered but also explained in this chapter; it may confront with the neoliberal forces, which now monopolizes the power of the Global North over South, as Tzanelli discussed.

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